Corporate Cupid—*Juanita Tanner*

THE *Nation*

March 1, 1952

The Fifth Freedom

Our Paper Curtain - - *Fowler Harper*

The Nazis Come In - *Milton Friedman*

Passport Procedures - - - - *A Report*

*

Needed—a Victor Hugo

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

*

Lisbon: Peace or Provocation?

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

MAR 1 1952

20 CENTS A COPY · EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865 · 7 DOLLARS A YEAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AROUND THE U. S. A.

Lawmakers on Television

Oklahoma City

TELEVISION has had a multitude of "firsts" as it has integrated itself into the life of the nation, but perhaps the most important was marked up by WKY-TV in Oklahoma City when it televised the proceedings of the Oklahoma legislature twice weekly during the whole past session. Considered an experiment by many, although not by station manager P. A. Sugg, who conceived the idea, the program was so successful that it will undoubtedly be continued, and perhaps expanded, in the future.

The first of these telecasts was made on January 2, 1951, when the outgoing governor, Roy J. Turner, addressed the opening session. The cameras were on hand again to cover incoming Governor Johnston Murray's address a week later. The following week the lawmakers granted the station permission to begin its twice-weekly telecasts.

Several of the legislators objected to having their actions exposed to the candid eye of the TV camera. "It's the silliest thing I ever heard of," one said. "We have some ham actors in both houses," he went on, "and if one man gets up and makes a fool of himself, the people back home will think we're all that way." Another complained, "The press and radio are continually harassing us every time we open our mouths. I don't see why we should let television do it too."

The state's newspapers were jokingly pessimistic. The Shawnee *News-Star* said that house members would have to decide among themselves who were to be the heroes and who the villains of the show and make their roles clear—"the public doesn't like to be puzzled." J. Leland Gourley, publisher of the Henryetta *Daily Free-Lance*, declared: "All may go well at first, but just wait until the lawmakers start getting their fan mail and their constituents tell them what a bunch of jackasses they are."

Actually the conduct of the legislators before the cameras was exemplary. Television even accomplished, on its first day, what the lieutenant governor had been unable to do for sixteen years. Senators marched into the house in a body for the house-senate joint session. The reaction of the public soon dispelled the fears of those who had worried that television might give a false view of them. It was seen that there could be no bias or political prejudice in the report of a session by direct telecast.

Television, of course, cannot follow all the work of the legislature, for much is done in committee meetings, and some sessions last all day. The WKY-TV telecasts were scheduled from 2 to 3 p. m. each Tuesday and Thursday. House and senate leaders tried to discuss the bills of greatest public interest during those hours, but the audience still caught only a brief glimpse of what the legislature was doing.

One of the most valuable results was the stimulation of public interest in government. As all journalists know, people are always eager to read about something they have seen happen. "When WKY-TV started its telecasts of the legislature we had a great increase in calls about the bills they were debating," reported Ralph Sewell, city editor of the *Daily Oklahoman*. "Viewers who had been watching the debate on a bill would call up to find out what had finally been done about it." Television also helped clarify some of the parliamentary procedures that we had been trying to explain for years—such as the difference between the 'committee of the whole house' and the house itself."

WKY-TV's news bureau chief, Ewing Canaday, handled the commentary for the telecasts and interrupted the continuity only to identify a speaker or explain a complicated parliamentary procedure. He usually had the clerk of the house on hand to help him do this.

Preparing for the one-hour telecast required about six hours' work by three or four engineers. WKY-TV has a special mobile unit for remote telecasts, but after it was parked outside the Capitol building, engineers had to carry in hundreds of pounds of equipment—cameras, tripods, and cables—and set it up in the house galleries. The microwave relay parabola also had to be lined up with a relay station on top of a downtown skyscraper, from which the signal could be sent to the transmitter building north of the city. Technical direction was handled from the control room in the mobile unit.

Skepticism about the legislative telecasts among the legislators changed to wholehearted approval in a short time. Representative Kessler of Oklahoma City said he only wished it were possible to have a camera and microphone in every committee room so that no secrets could be kept from the public. Another member of the house called the program a great step toward bringing the people and the legislature closer together, "and that, of course, makes for better government." He recalled how difficult it used to be, in the days of bad roads and poor communications, for the people to keep in touch with their representatives. "About all they could do was elect a man, send him to the legislature, and hope he would do the right thing. Instead, most of them did as they pleased."

During the past session one member, when asked if he would yield the floor, answered, "No, I'm not going to yield. I've got five minutes on television and I'm going to use it."

RAY SCALES

RAY SCALES is a member of the staff of Station WKY-TV in Oklahoma City.

In Early Issues

COMING PRIMARIES

By Carey McWilliams

On his return from an extended tour of investigation Mr. McWilliams will report on the political prospects in the Middle West, with special reference to the primaries in Wisconsin and Minnesota.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH OUR AIRPLANES?

By Leonard Engel

An attempt to answer some of the questions posed so insistently by the recent succession of airplane disasters. Mr. Engel writes on scientific matters for *The Nation* and other magazines.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 174 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 1, 1952 NUMBER 9

The Shape of Things

FINAL RESULTS OF INDIA'S FIRST GENERAL election since attaining independence are still to come, but one thing is clear: a bold democratic experiment has been triumphantly vindicated. Universal suffrage, introduced by the new constitution, raised the electorate from 30 to 176 million men and women, 85 per cent of them illiterate. Yet the polling was carried out with complete order, and there have been very few reports of fraud or corruption. Moreover, the right to vote was exercised by more than 50 per cent of those eligible—a greater proportion than in our own last Presidential election. As anticipated, the Congress Party, headed by Prime Minister Nehru, won a large majority. In the central Parliament, or House of the People, it will have about two-thirds of the seats, and it will control most of the state assemblies. The chief surprise was the concentrated strength shown by the Communists and their allies in certain districts, particularly in the south of India. They will apparently form the second-largest party in Parliament, and if they can obtain the support of a few independents, should be able to organize governments in two important states—Madras and Travancore-Cochin. Both of these mainly rural states are exceptionally poverty-stricken, and the Communists successfully exploited the long-smoldering discontent of millions of peasants owning little or no land. On the other hand, the Communists made no headway in industrial areas like Bombay, where they might have been expected to do well. Their victories, therefore, are a warning to the Nehru government to tackle land problems more vigorously. It should be the better able to do so, and to meet this new challenge from the left, since the extreme right-wing, orthodox Hindu groups were heavily defeated.

*

ON MAY 15, 1941, ACCORDING TO TESTIMONY developed at the Nürnberg war-crimes trials, a Luftwaffe physician wrote to his friend Himmler asking for "two or three professional criminals" to be used as guinea pigs for medical research. The physician got his two or three; in a matter of days the number grew into two or three hundred; in a matter of months, into thousands and tens of thousands—all drawn from Himmler's inexhaustible store of concentration-camp humanity. Thus was ushered in one of the most fiendish chapters of Nazi history. The great tradition of German science degenerated into senseless butchery in the hands of Nazi "researchers." The Roentgen ray became a weapon for mass sterilization; the discoveries of Koch were harnessed, not to the cure of disease, but to its propagation. The researchers froze their victims, cooked them, crushed them in vacuum cabinets, inoculated them with diseases known and unknown. Reports on the experiments were submitted regularly to German army and S. S. medical leaders, including General Walter P. Schreiber, commander of the German Military Medical Academy, who on several occasions himself assigned doctors to this kind of experimental work. Today Dr. Schreiber, brought to the United States by the army, is teaching at the Air Force School of Aviation Medicine at Randolph Field, Texas. A group of Boston physicians, their consciences outraged, are demanding his prompt expulsion and an investigation of his admission to this country. The Boston *Globe* and other newspapers and individuals have taken up the fight. It is inconceivable that any American should want to stay out of it.

*

THE LARGEST WHITE-COLLAR STRIKE IN history ended last week when 15,000 members of the Insurance Agents International Union (A. F. of L.) voted by a narrow margin to accept a compromise settlement offered by the Prudential Life Insurance Company. The workers had asked for a $20 increase in their weekly minimum wage. What they got was an average increase of $5.36—not in their minimum wage, but in commissions and expenses—plus a per capita lump payment of $150. Moreover, the increase was provided for in a two-year contract which is not subject to wage review. This was the best that could be offered, apparently, by a company which had spent $5,000,000 in advertising to fight the strike and which in the course of the dispute was able to lend the International Business Machine Company $115,000,000. The workers did win compulsory arbitration of grievances, pension-plan concessions, and under certain circumstances the right to work week-ends on other jobs. But they lost their demand for a union shop. "Our most significant gain," said a strike leader, "was the fact that we now have a union recognized by the company as well as the workers." It is apparently a tough union, too; the rank-and-file vote to return to work ran only three to two after a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 193

Lisbon: Peace or Provocation? *by Freda Kirchwey* 193

ARTICLES

Needed—a Victor Hugo *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 196

The Fifth Freedom

Our Paper Curtain *by Fowler Harper* 198

The Nazis Come In *by Milton Friedman* 200

Passport Procedures 201

France in Torture *by Alexander Werth* 202

Ocala: Echo of Injustice *by Stetson Kennedy* 203

Corporate Cupid *by Juanita Tanner* 204

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

General Willoughby and the Sorge Spy Ring *by W. MacMahon Ball* 206

The Victorian Ethos *by Morton Dauwen Zabel* 207

Early Virginia *by Oscar Handlin* 208

Anchor to the Past *by Harvey Swados* 209

Art *by Manny Farber* 209

Records *by B. H. Haggin* 210

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 211

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 454 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 212

EDITORIAL BOARD

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Editorial Director Carey McWilliams

Director, Nation Associates Lillie Shultz

Managing Editor: Victor H. Bernstein

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo

Literary Editor Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1952, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

strike that lasted eighty-one days. The Prudential strikers have shown that the white-collar worker will not forever remain the orphans of the trade-union movement.

*

WHOLESALE ARRESTS IN ARGENTINA ARE being justified by stories of conspiracies and assassination plots directed against President Perón and his wife, Evita. A more probable explanation is that Perón, unable to arrest the inflationary crisis produced by his economic policies, is seeking to prevent in advance the organization of an effective opposition to take advantage of growing discontent. Since 1949, when the government announced that wage-price relationships had been stabilized, prices have risen at least 80 per cent. For a time real wages kept pace with this increase, but in recent months they have been declining and they seem destined to drop still more since Perón is being forced to reverse his agricultural policies and pay farmers higher prices in an effort to check the steady fall in production of wheat and meat. Hitherto the Institute for Promotion of Foreign Trade has bought these and other commodities for much less than the prices at which it sold them to foreign markets. The profits accumulated in this fashion have been used to stimulate industrial production and finance grandiose public works. Thus the urban workers, organized in Perón's trade unions, have been kept happy. Farmers, however, have cut back production, while in the past two years output has been further reduced by severe drought. As a result exports have declined sharply and Argentina's trade deficit has attained record proportions. Now Perón, in an attempt to save the situation, is calling for austerity, to be signalized by two meatless days a week, and has promised the farmers a 33 per cent increase in prices. But if he is to check further inflation, he will have to clamp down on the expansion of urban investments, which will cause unemployment, and limit new wage increases. Evidently, under these circumstances, he is not sure how far he can rely on the loyalty of the "shirtless ones" who have been the mainstay of his regime.

*

THE AMERICAN ISOLATIONIST IS A QUEER political animal. He is not really opposed to war; he merely wants others to do his fighting for him. Like the late Henry Ford, the isolationist says, "Let's you and him have a fight." Consider, for example, recent remarks by Senator Taft about American policy in the Far East. He would arm and equip not only the Nationalist Chinese on Formosa but also the anti-Communist forces in Burma, Thailand, and other Asian countries. But under no circumstances—that is, "unless we were absolutely sure of winning"—would the Senator favor sending American forces to the areas where American-equipped Asians are fighting the good fight against Com-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

munists. Asked if American forces should be sent to areas where it was clear the "anti-Communist" forces could not hold out alone, the Senator replied: "No, they would just have to fall." Asians, both Communist and anti-Communist, will surely take note of this cynical remark.

*

A WELCOME SIGN OF GROWING MATURITY in the political arm of American labor was seen early this year when the C. I. O.'s Committee to Abolish Discrimination and the United Automobile Workers' Fair Practices and Discrimination Department participated in hearings before Secretary of the Interior Chapman on the proposed regulations governing contract relations between Indians and their attorneys. Apparently labor has finally recognized the political importance of alliances with "have-not" groups. So far as the memory of living Westerners extends, this is the first time organized labor has taken a stand on behalf of American Indians. Behind this departure is the significant fact that Indians, formerly denied the franchise, are now voting in several Western states, and that their vote could represent the margin of victory in a close election. Incidentally, the Indians and their allies, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Jewish Committee, the American Bar Association, and the unions, won a sweeping victory, convincing Mr. Chapman that the proposed regulations should be withdrawn.

Lisbon: Peace or Provocation?

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

AFTER so much initial pessimism it was natural that the decisions at Lisbon should have been greeted in the American press with almost breathless enthusiasm. On paper at least, a step of revolutionary significance was taken in the handsome Parliament building which ordinarily serves such narrow and formal uses. The unborn European defense community with its still more embryonic six-nation army was unanimously indorsed by the fledgling North Atlantic Council against political odds which had recently seemed too great to be overcome. How great were these odds is made evident by Alexander Werth in his story this week of France's agonized retreat on the issue of rearming Germany. The result at Lisbon was an American victory, and the general in command was Secretary Acheson. Whatever sort of history was made there, the chief credit or blame will be his.

But Lisbon is a small paragraph in a long tale, most of it still untold. The next chapters will open in the far more real parliament halls of the Allied powers, and at Bonn, where the neatly dovetailed plans must be ratified if they are to be anything but votes recorded on paper. That ratification will mean an even tougher fight than the pre-Lisbon debate reported by Mr. Werth, is indicated in the prompt defiant statements issued by the chief non-government parties in France, both left and right. In Germany a different but almost equally bitter struggle is promised; its next rounds will take place in the negotiations over the new "contractual relations" between Bonn and the chief Western Allies. And beyond ratification, if it is won, lie the monumental problems of financing and bringing into physical and political being the European-NATO defense system. Viewed in the context of Europe's economic crisis and the profound instability it has bred, the prospect is one which should provide sober second thoughts to the most exuberant editorial page. The fact is, everything but the decisions remain to be accomplished, and the real obstacle to accomplishment is the feeling, first, that the danger of Soviet attack is not great enough to warrant the fantastic effort and sacrifice demanded by the American program and, second, that it may be increased rather than exorcised by the creation of an armed alliance stretching from Turkey to Norway—including the Germans.

This feeling, voiced in the French Assembly even by Jules Moch, the bitterly anti-Communist former Defense Minister, can hardly have been diminished by the analysis of Russia's aims and intentions which the North Atlantic Council deputies submitted to the NATO Foreign Ministers at a "highly restricted" session at Lisbon. Summarized in the New York *Times* by C. L. Sulzberger, the unpublished report presented a picture of intensified cold-war activities on the part of Russia, ranging from efforts to "prevent harmony in ideas between Western Europe and the United States" and neutralize and unify Germany, to an attempt "to extend Communist influence over India," reinforce Soviet bonds with Communist China, neutralize Japan, "foment tension in Southeast Asia," sap Western influence in the Middle East, and "encourage anti-imperialist moves in such areas as Egypt and Morocco." The significance of the analysis, described by Mr. Sulzberger as "exceptionally important," is obviously not in its familiar ingredients but in the fact that it was prepared as a basis for determination of policy by the Western alliance. As such, it is truly an astonishing document, for it offers no hint that Moscow plans to carry out its purposes by military means—not even in Asia. While the report declares that Russia's policy is, in Mr. Sulzberger's words, "revolutionary, expansionist," and aimed at establishing a "world Communist system under Moscow's domination," it also insists that Moscow wishes "at all costs to avoid 'excessive risk' to the Soviet Union itself." As a result Soviet policy "is always sensitive to the real or imagined fears of encirclement and preoccupied with the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

security of the highways leading to the Eurasian land mass." The document also ascribed to Moscow "the desire not only to prevent the rebirth of Europe's economic development but then, afterward, to push Communist governments to power in that area." While the report sees no likelihood that the Soviet Union intends to withdraw from Germany to support its unification propaganda, it considers as certain Moscow's refusal to permit a "rearmed and unified" Germany to associate with the West.

One could not read Mr. Sulzberger's outline of this "exceptionally important analysis" without wondering what earthly relevance it had to the revolutionary scheme of an integrated, armed "free" world agreed upon in unfree Portugal. Rather it was an argument for moderation in military planning, a warning against the creation of a German army, a clear call for positive, democratic solutions in Asia and the Middle East. It made a case for diplomacy rather than force alone; for an effort to dispel compulsive fears and suspicions, rather than match and top them. In fact, the NATO deputies produced a document which could be better used by an opposition party in the French Assembly than by M. Schuman.

The same copy of the *Times* reported the collapse of the Mexican-United States talks on military aid. The headline blamed "red pressure," but Mexico's resistance to any agreement which commits it to "the defense of democracy" throughout the world needs no nudge from Moscow. Next day Indonesia's Cabinet fell on the same issue; some eight nations are balking at the conditions imposed by the Mutual Security Act. Even more pertinent perhaps is the challenge to military commitments abroad contained in the Berry resolution adopted last week by Congress and on the foreign policy debate in the House of Commons. From one side of the world to the other men and governments question the validity of American insistence that arms come first and all else, even food and shelter and independence, comes only after Russia and its "revolutionary, expansionist" purposes have been contained. There is the further suspicion, spread not by Moscow agents but by men in our own Administration, in Congress, and in the armed services, that containment means the active instigation and support of counter-revolution, that no matter how much we talk of "defense" and "peace" we plan the ultimate rolling-back of Soviet power. To such a program few nations will voluntarily commit themselves, the less if they feel themselves directly in the way of that power.

An interesting if unintended commentary on the preconceptions of American policy was made by John Foster Dulles on the very day the Lisbon agreement was announced. Demanding a revival of "dynamism" in our international relations, Mr. Dulles said that Soviet communism "represents today the active, dynamic element, and the free world represents the static, passive element." Although he may fully approve of an armed Europe and surely disapproves of Moscow, the State Department's Republican adviser declared that communism had won its victories primarily through social ideas and that almost no part of its expansion had been due to the old-fashioned method of open military aggression. Pointing to our vast expenditures on arms and for loans and grants to other countries, Mr. Dulles emphasized the urgency of "non-material" methods. "Today," he said, "a revolutionary spirit grips over half the human race. There are passions that cannot be allayed by oil royalties or suppressed by foreign guns." The statesmen assembled at Lisbon drew up a plan that makes sense only if Russian "dynamism" is harnessed to a policy of old-fashioned, open military aggression. On any other assumption it is a self-defeating monstrosity, for it stands squarely in opposition to those social and political changes which, if Moscow's purposes are being accomplished chiefly by ideas rather than war, alone could check the expansive force of communism and counter its revolutionary appeal.

Needed—a Victor Hugo

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

IN THE present state of the world—with former fascists and collaborators regaining power and anti-fascists persecuted or pushed aside—no literary figure of the past century has a more pertinent message for us than the great Victor Hugo. It is appropriate, therefore, to celebrate the centenary of his exile, which was an event of primary importance for France and all Western Europe, and to listen again to his formidable voice, denouncing not only the tyrant but even more the cowards who always find some pretext for giving up the struggle. His love of liberty and hatred of oppression are an inextinguishable flame.

Victor Hugo was above all one of those embodiments of the French spirit in whom thought and action are one. He was not satisfied simply to "agree in principle" with the people's aspirations and express his resistance to arbitrary power in disillusioned and impotent verse. He denied that a poet could excuse his retirement to an ivory tower in the face of injustice by claiming to be too sensitive to enter the political arena or too sophisticated to agitate for a cause. "If in our epoch of social and revolutionary change," he wrote a century ago, "an author feels that he is required to defend the people's rights, he must accept the requirement, unless he would betray the people, as an order to perpetual combat." But for Hugo there was an even lower category of intellectuals than the ones

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who withdrew from the struggle—those who fought on the wrong side, absolving themselves on the ground of "defending their country" or pretending that their "first duty was to prevent anarchy." Change "anarchy" to "communism," and his words are beautifully applicable today.

Goethe believed that a poet should turn his back on the turbulence and pressures of contemporary life and construct a private Olympus, where his sensibility would be protected from the clamor of the masses. Hugo, like Voltaire and Rousseau and the more enlightened leaders of the French Revolution, threw his whole being into the great battle of the age. His political development was extremely significant. He came from a conservative family, his father having been a general under Napoleon, and in 1818 the young Hugo was a royalist. In 1824 he called himself a royalist-liberal, in 1827 a liberal, in 1828 a liberal-socialist, in 1830 a liberal-socialist-democrat, in 1849 a liberal-socialist-democrat-republican.

It was in this last year that he became the poet *par excellence* of the struggle for liberty; Péguy called him later a pagan prophet. His anger at the intervention of French troops against the Roman Republic in aid of the Pope completed his ideological progress from conservatism to extreme radicalism. After that he joined the left leaders, Alexandre Ledru-Rollin and Jules Favre, in defending the republic in fiery speeches. When actual fighting broke out, he abandoned the usual weapons of a writer of his rank—the platform and the press—and helped man the barricades across the Paris boulevards, where the people challenged the government's armed forces.

He was a statesman; underlying his virulent imprecations against tyranny were the constructive ideas of a man eminently qualified to rule. He used his pen with a unique mixture of aggressiveness and charm against the Emperor and the intellectuals who would see liberty betrayed rather than risk their careers. When he referred to Napoleon the Little, in contrast to Napoleon the Great, he used the phrase to castigate all the moral pettiness of the regime. If someone reminded him of what he owed to France, he replied that he placed devotion to justice and to the common man above conventional love of country. In his poetry was coined the language of the people's tribunal. He was at the same time prosecutor and judge. He brought the accusation and passed sentence. He disregarded a public opinion "artificially created by using the money of the rich to distort the truth." "That is not the voice of the people," he said; "that is the voice of lackeys."

While he became more and more radical as time went on, his early writings expressed a sense of humanity which made his evolution entirely logical. His dramas, especially "Cromwell," which denounces the greed for power of the English revolutionary leader, and "Ruy Blas," in which a commoner dares to oppose the nobility, and his powerful novel, "Les Misérables," still read with emotion by European workers, are clearly the precursors of the new theater and the new social novel. "Les Misérables" was admired by both Tolstoy and Dostoevsky and strongly influenced Russian literature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

But it was as exile that Victor Hugo attained his full grandeur. When he crossed the Belgian border dressed as a workman, his disguise symbolized his identification with the proletariat. He had the worker's determination never to give up, no matter what temporary defeats he might suffer. His exile did not lessen his ardor. It only made him a stronger, more resolute fighter and heightened the splendor of his burning lyrics. His finest poems were composed in exile. When his companions fell prey to dejection and fatigue, they could always be roused by his words. In one of his poems he said: "If we are a thousand—magnificent; if we are five hundred, here we are; if we are only a hundred, that hundred will fight; and if I alone remain, I will keep the banner of liberty flying." He rebuked the pessimists who despaired because for the moment the French people were so apathetic: "You may think the French are dead. But that is not so. A people needs a long time to digest a revolution. A people which has devoured a monarchy is like a boa which has swallowed a tiger. It sleeps, but beware! It sleeps, but it will wake." Attacking the stupidities of clerical reaction, he wrote: "Does anyone believe that the instinct of liberty, the Europe of Luther, the France of Voltaire, can be destroyed by the blows of a cross? What idiocy!"

With his keen political sense he understood that he must wage war simultaneously on the monarchy and the papacy. Bonapartism and clericalism were two aspects of the same despotism, and if for Bonapartism one reads fascism and if one perceives the parallel between the support given to Napoleon the Little by the Catholic church and the support now given by that same church to reaction everywhere, Victor Hugo's glorious exile seems an episode of our own time.

The stage is set again for Victor Hugo. In "Histoire d'un Crime," which he wrote during his exile, he described the betrayal of the French people. Today he could tell the story of the crime committed against the spirit of the Liberation, which aroused such great hopes at the close of World War II. His irreverent and incisive pen would find abundant material in a period like the present, when reaction, recovered from its defeat in 1945, is again gaining ascendancy over the confused and divided progressive forces. Victor Hugo would not abandon the struggle. As in 1852, he would rally the people to new efforts.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Fifth Freedom

Last year President Truman, speaking to the American press but addressing President Nikolai M. Shvernik of the U. S. S. R., urged the Kremlin to permit freedom of travel. But it is not the Kremlin which has arbitrarily barred hundreds of distinguished foreigners from our shores in the last few years. Nor is it the Kremlin which, by administrative decree, is preventing hundreds of Americans, distinguished and ordinary, from traveling abroad. In truth, the marvel is not that President Truman's excellent advice has not been heeded by the Kremlin; the marvel is that it has gone unheeded by our State Department and Congress.

Freedom to travel is by no means an exclusively American concept. But it is one especially cherished by us. It was at American insistence that Paragraph 2 of Article 3 was included in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, *including his own,* and to return to that country." For a variation of the principle, known as the freedom of the seas, we have fought long and bitter wars. And having defended it successfully against Barbary pirates, British men of war, and German U-boats, it seems inconceivable that we should now be losing it to Washington bureaucrats moving in obedience to arbitrary rulings and legislation born of cold-war hysteria.

In the three articles below *The Nation* presents a broad review of several aspects of this threat to the "fifth freedom," together with a program designed—in part at least—to remove it.

OUR PAPER CURTAIN

BY FOWLER HARPER

SOMEWHERE in the neighborhood of a quarter-million American citizens apply each year for passports to travel in foreign countries. A much smaller but nevertheless substantial number of foreigners apply for American visas to come here. All sorts of people travel abroad for all sorts of reasons. Business men, artists, scientists, students, scholars, writers, foreign correspondents, and invalids travel in the pursuit of their business, their profession, or their health; still others merely in the pursuit of happiness.

But a foreigner can pursue none of these things in the United States, nor an American abroad, without the consent of the State Department. Last spring Dr. Ernest B. Chain, a British chemist, a Nobel prize-winner and co-discoverer of penicillin, was denied a visa to come to this country on business of the World Health Organization, of whose antibiotics committee he is chairman. In the late fall he was again denied a visa when he wanted to attend a dinner in New York in honor of the seventy-seventh birthday of the President of Israel.

In 1947 Dr. Martin Kamen, professor of biochemistry and radiation physics at Washington University, St. Louis, and a distinguished scientist, was denied a passport to go to Israel, where he had been invited by the Weizmann Institute of Science to deliver a series of lectures. In 1948 Dr. Kamen was denied a passport to attend a scientific conference in Paris on isotopic exchange and molecular physics, sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation. In the same year inability to get a passport prevented him from accepting an invitation from the Australian government to be a visiting professor at the national university at Canberra. In 1950 he was, for a fourth time, denied a passport, on this occasion to attend a scientific symposium in England.

It seems pretty clear that the professional work of these two scientists has been seriously interrupted and their careers interfered with. What is more important, perhaps, the progress of science, which knows no political or geographical boundaries, has been retarded. In the case of Dr. Kamen, the usual reason was given by the Passport Division—that his travel abroad would not be "in the best interests of the United States." In the case of Dr. Chain, no reason at all was given. Presumably, however, he was refused entry because the State Department did not think his visit here was in the best interest of the nation. These, of course, are not isolated cases. Corliss Lamont, scholar and writer, was recently denied a passport to travel in Italy and France in connection with his work. In 1948 Representative Leo Isaacson, a member of a political party headed by an ex-Vice-President of the United States, was not allowed to attend an international conference in Paris as an observer for the American Council for Aid to Democratic Greece, although passports were granted to several members of the Council. In 1950 Paul Robeson, singer and lecturer, was prevented from fulfilling engagements abroad by revocation of his passport.

On September 10, 1951, the International Congress of Pure and Applied Chemistry opened its meeting in New York, but a dozen of the world's leading chemists,

FOWLER HARPER is a member of the faculty of the Yale Law School.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

several of them official delegates, were not present. They had been denied visas. Among them were five scientists scheduled to deliver important papers. One was Professor L. Ruzicka, a Swiss chemist, a Nobel prize-winner, and one of the distinguished scientists awarded an honorary degree at the Harvard Tercentenary Celebration in 1936. Another was Mlle Marguerite Perey, discoverer of chemical element 87, called Francium. Ironically, President Truman, a few days before, in a message to the American Chemical Society on the occasion of its Diamond Jubilee, had written: "It is a striking tribute to our democracy that so great a number of scientists can assemble here free from suspicion of one another, and free from fear of outside interference. This kind of personal freedom is our most precious national asset." It is too bad that the President's speech writer does not always know what the chief of the Passport Division is doing.

Chemistry is not the only science that is suffering from the current dearth of American visas. According to the New York *Post,* scientists of international reputation have been barred from attending recent sessions of nuclear physicists and geneticists. The *Post,* moreover, reported that the American Psychological Association, which planned in 1954 to play host here to the International Congress of Psychology, will transfer the sessions elsewhere unless "the McCarran act is changed in such a way as not to embarrass our guests."

THE Internal Security (McCarran) Act prohibits the issuance of a visa of any kind to anyone who is or ever has been a member of certain described organizations, which of course include the Communist Party and the Nazi Party. The law as to passports is not so clean-cut. The McCarran act forbids the issuance of passports to and their use by persons who are members of "Communist-action" or "Communist-front" organizations after they have registered as such or have been ordered to register by the Subversive Activities Board, as provided in the act. But to date no organization has registered or been ordered to register by the board, and when such an order is issued, the case will go all the way through the courts. It is clear that the State Department, in denying passports to Dr. Kamen and hundreds of other American citizens, has not acted under the McCarran act.

What, then, is the source of the Passport Division's authority to deny American citizens the right to leave the country? The "authority," if such it be, is pretty slim. An act of Congress originally passed in 1866 merely provides that the Secretary of State may issue passports under rules and regulations made by the President. The Secretary, through the Passport Division, handles these matters under an Executive Order from the President which empowers him to deny passports or restrict their scope and use in accordance with the "best interests" of the United States. The department has interpreted this order as vesting in the Secretary of State unrestricted discretion, subject to the review of no court in the land, to say who may and who may not travel abroad. In practice, this means that the Passport Division has that power—except in the rare instance when, owing to the political pull of the applicant or other reason, a higher official overrules it.

On some occasions—when the applicant has been convicted of crime or when a traveler abroad engages in criminal or highly immoral activities—the division will assign specific reasons for refusing or canceling a passport. But if the grounds are political, the applicant is merely advised that his exit from the country is deemed not in the "best interests" of the United States.

People who want to leave the country are advised by the department that "any applicant who has been refused a passport may request further consideration of his case and may present any additional evidence or information which he may wish to have considered." This sounds fair enough so far as it goes. But it does not go very far. When an applicant is merely told that his attendance at a scientific meeting in Paris or acceptance of a visiting professorship in Sweden is not in the "best interests" of the United States, what "additional evidence or information" can he submit which would have a bearing on whatever reason may be in the Passport Division's individual or collective mind? There are many disappointed applicants to testify that if they try to pry into the matter, they get the run-around. Thus all they can do is guess.

Senator McCarran

Dr. Kamen guessed it was because he had been accused of releasing classified information concerning the Manhattan Project, on which he worked during the war. He had denied this vigorously. The Un-American Activities Committee found that he had, in fact, made some such disclosure but also found that he had done so innocently. In any event, his present scientific interests have nothing to do with atomic research, and the Atomic Energy Commission advised the State Department that it saw no objection to his going abroad. But the Passport Division did.

An applicant for a visa is, if possible, even more in the dark about the reason for refusal. He is told nothing except that he cannot get the visa. Dr. Chain guesses

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that since he has never engaged in any political activity at all, it is because he went to Czechoslovakia for the World Health Organization to restore a penicillin plant. It is surmised that Professor Ruzicka was considered a threat to the security of the United States because he had failed to resign from an academy of science in one of the Iron Curtain countries to which he had been elected before the curtain was dropped. And Mlle Perey is thought to have been excluded because she had invited Mme Marie Curie to the dedication of her research laboratory some ten or a dozen years ago.

The unsuccessful applicant for a visa gets no semblance of a hearing. All he can do is try to pull wires if he is lucky enough to know somebody who knows somebody. In the case of the citizen who is denied a passport, it is pretty clear that such hearing as he gets is not worth much. He finds himself in the intolerable position of having to convince somebody that it is in the "best interests" of the country for him to leave it when an adverse decision has already been made for reasons he is not told. It is little wonder that the Passport Division seldom changes its mind once the exit permit has been refused.

Bad as it is, the McCarran act is much fairer in this respect. Members of subversive organizations are forbidden to use passports. But before an organization is proscribed, it has a full hearing before the Subversive Activities Board, with an opportunity to cross-examine adverse witnesses and the power to subpoena favorable ones. Thereafter the organization is entitled to full judicial review. The assumption that Congress, in authorizing the President to issue passports, intended to vest in him unbridled discretion to deny them without a hearing is hardly consistent with the elaborate safeguards provided by the Internal Security Act.

Before World War I anybody could leave the country and travel almost any place without a passport. Most countries now refuse to grant a visa for entry unless the applicant holds one, and so long as the national emergency continues, it is a criminal offense for a citizen to leave the United States without a passport. Thus, one of the great liberties recognized and protected by the common law, freedom to go where one wants as long as one does not interfere with the person or property of somebody else, is arbitrarily restricted by a procedure that has none of the safeguards usually associated with due process of law.

Nor is it an answer to say that it is a "privilege" and not a "right" to leave the country. When the applicant's profession or business depends in large measure on his chance for foreign travel, something more than a privilege is involved. To be sure, all or at least most legal rights are qualified. They may be restricted when the public good so requires. And no one will deny that the national security is a public good of the highest order. But in finding that a Corliss Lamont or a Paul Robeson would be more of a threat outside than inside the country, the government must act with a modicum of respect for the decencies of legal procedure which have prevailed since Magna Charta. And while a foreigner has no right to visit us without our permission, arbitrary discrimination without explanation does not foster that good-will in other countries which we so sorely need today. We can hardly expect the French or the Mexicans to take seriously the notion that a transit visa for the rector of the University of Paris to fly from LaGuardia Field to Mexico City to attend the four-hundredth anniversary of the University of Mexico would be a threat to the security of the United States. The State Department took it very seriously.

THE NAZIS COME IN

BY MILTON FRIEDMAN

NAZIS and others with bona fide fascist records are experiencing little difficulty with the United States visa regulations which are keeping from our shores so many distinguished democrats. It is true that there is a paper barrier against fascists. An amendment to the Internal Security Act of 1950 bars all present or former members of "totalitarian" parties except those who were coerced into joining or were not more than sixteen when they enrolled. But the ninth proviso, third section, of the Immigration Act of 1917, which gives discretionary power to the Attorney General to admit "otherwise inadmissible aliens applying for temporary admission," makes the barrier very fragile indeed. Moreover, the Central Intelligence Agency is empowered by Congress to import annually 100 aliens who possess strategic skills. It is not required to divulge their identity.

The ninth proviso and the C. I. A. are affording avenues of admission to some interesting people. Dr. Walter P. Schreiber, former commanding officer of the Department of Medical Science of Hitler's Supreme Command, to whom some unflattering references were made at the Nürnberg war-crimes trials, recently arrived to join the faculty of the United States Army Air Force School of Aviation Medicine at Randolph Field, Texas. Dr. Otto Reuleaux and about fifty other Germans were granted visas to attend an international meeting of industrialists held in New York in connection with a convention of the National Association of Manufacturers. Dr. Reuleaux held the Nazi title of Defense Economy Director and is on the original 1945 War Department list of those who participated in and benefited from the Hitler regime. Some of his colleagues who accom-

MILTON FRIEDMAN is chief of the Washington News Bureau of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

panied him to New York were also Nazi Party members and beneficiaries of the regime.

Dr. Andrija Artukovic, war-time Minister of Justice of the Nazi puppet government of Croatia, traveling under an assumed name, entered the United States as a visitor on July 16, 1948. His signature is recorded on anti-Semitic decrees, and he is charged with zealously implementing Hitler's extermination program. His temporary visa was extended three times. To escape extradition, Dr. Artukovic has applied for status as a "refugee from communism." Another Balkan collaborator cleared by the immigration service is Viorel Trifa, who participated in the pro-Nazi revolt in Bucharest in 1941 as a leader of the Iron Guard and also played a role in anti-Semitic activities.

Although the Displaced Persons Act expired last December 31, the official machinery has been kept functioning to admit 54,774 additional *Volksdeutsche* from Eastern Europe. Many of these people, according to Rabbi Irving Miller, ex-president of the American Jewish Congress, "volunteered for service with the execution squads which gassed and otherwise exterminated six million Jews and millions of other faiths." When Congress amended the D. P. act in 1950 it provided especially for immigration visas for General Wladyslaw Anders's Polish Corps. Among those who joined Anders's group after the war were such personalities as Roch Mankowski, commander of the Nazi concentration camp at Krems; Father I. Nahajewski, chaplain of Hitler's Ukrainian S. S. division, which murdered thousands of civilians; Dr. Wladyslaw Dering, named on the international list of war criminals for surgical experiments on living human beings at Auschwitz; Henryk Gutman, commander of camps in Austria. Approximately 11,000 visas were issued to Anders's men, who were welcomed under the Statue of Liberty as part of the "huddled masses yearning to breathe free."

PASSPORT PROCEDURES

[*The American Civil Liberties Union, disturbed by restrictions on freedom of travel imposed by the United States, last week published an extensive memorandum on the subject, including in it a series of suggestions for amending passport-issuance procedures. An abridged version of the A. C. L. U. recommendations is printed below.*]

1. THE Secretary of State should be asked to appoint a commission of three eminent citizens to examine the files of the Passport Division, the Secretary to use [the commission's report] as a basis for the formulation in advance of standard grounds for denial of passports and for the creation of administrative machinery for conducting a review.

2. While the A. C. L. U. recognizes that the United States government must have the power to protect the nation against any "clear and present danger" (and under present circumstances perhaps also against dangers which are neither wholly clear nor demonstrably present), the "right to travel" should be recognized subject only to reasonable restrictions and safeguarded by due process of law. No restriction is reasonable unless it is expressed in clear criteria defined before the event. An Act of Congress is needed which will make the issuance of a passport to an American citizen mandatory, and will prohibit its revocation, except for specifically stated reasons.

3. The A. C. L. U. is convinced that the Department of State has on occasion denied or revoked passports for reasons connected with the applicants' political beliefs or associations, as in the case of members of extreme left-wing groups who wished to go abroad to attend conferences or to fulfil speaking engagements. While the union recognizes that criticism of the United States by citizens traveling abroad has some tendency to impair the prestige of the United States, and that many such criticisms are untrue and unfair, it sees no reason for foreclosing abroad utterances of the sort that constitutional guaranties permit within the United States. On the other hand, if the State Department has evidence from which it can reasonably infer that the passport will be used for the purpose of engaging in conspiratorial activities against the peace and security of the United States, refusal of the passport would be proper.

4. The passport provisions of the McCarran act, in their present form, should be repealed, because a passport should not be denied solely on the basis of membership in an organization.

5. Whether or not clear and comprehensible standards for the issuance or denial of a passport are established, procedural safeguards against abuse of discretion are urgently needed. A formalized procedure should therefore be established within the Department of State to review initial determinations respecting passports; the department should be required to reveal the basis for denials or revocations (except when it appears and is demonstrated to the satisfaction of a court that the applicant may be involved in espionage or sabotage and that the disclosure of sources might impede counter-intelligence); and judicial review of abuse of discretion should be provided.

6. Appropriate cases should be selected or instituted to test (a) the constitutionality of the denial of notice and hearings of any sort to persons refused passports; (b) the constitutionality of denials or revocations of passports on the basis of political beliefs and associations; (c) the applicability of the Administrative Procedure Act to the issuance of passports; and (d) the extent of right of judicial review, independent of that act.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

France in Torture

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, February 20

A DYING man, supporting himself on crutches, made his way to the rostrum of the National Assembly and told of his experience in Buchenwald—he had been a cripple ever since, and now, very soon, was going to die. "We Frenchmen who survived Buchenwald swore that never again should Germany be allowed to build up its military power. I have come here to renew that oath. I am going to die, Mr. President. I am going to die because of what the Germans did to me. I warn you, do not trust the Germans!" Deeply moved, the whole Assembly rose and cheered. Men had tears in their eyes as they watched George Heuillard, a Radical deputy, painfully make his way down the steps and start back to the hospital.

In terms of practical politics this kind of scene has no weight. But emotionally it has a great deal, and it was typical of the atmosphere of the five-day debate on the European army. "The gravest decision since Munich," "the most difficult problem France has had to face since the war"—that was the way many of the speeches began. Philippe Barrès, Gaullist deputy, said that not in all its long history had France been called upon to make a surrender like this.

The critics of the European army showed the greatest conviction and self-assurance; the government spokesmen were defensive, dwelling continually on the "lesser evil." Even the soprano trills of that prima donna of the M. R. P., Pierre-Henri Teitgen, sounded out of tune, for those who formerly sponsored "Europe" have lost their ardor since hearing what Adenauer means by "Europe." One of Adenauer's underlings recently told the *Monde* correspondent: "Just wait till we have fifteen divisions, and we'll talk a different language to France." And Adenauer himself said at Hanover last December 13: "Our chief reason for wanting to enter the European army is to be able to recover our eastern territories."

"Europe" cuts no ice any more, now that Churchill has made plain the British position. "Yes, we wanted Europe, but we don't want this abortion of a Europe," Jules Moch said. A Europe—or a European army—without Scandinavia, and especially without Britain, made no sense at all. Britain alone could give it balance. Without Britain, there was only a Franco-German tête-à-tête in which France would become, before long, the junior partner. M. Schuman must be absolutely firm about not allowing Germany into NATO, M. Moch went on. Germany was bursting with territorial ambitions and only too ready to provoke a war with Russia. He (M. Moch) was one of the authors of the Pleven plan, but now he felt like "denying his paternity of the European army." He warned that if the government did not take sufficient notice of the wishes of the Assembly, or was overruled by the United States, the Assembly would in the end refuse to ratify the European-army treaty.

M. Moch made two other important points. He said it was essential to obtain an Anglo-American guaranty that the Germans, if "integrated" into the European army, would not "at the signal of a clandestine General Staff" suddenly break loose and declare themselves autonomous. And since the Russians were willing to talk disarmament in the U. N. Disarmament Commission, it was only right to give the commission a chance to make its report on June 1 without sabotaging its work by hasty decisions on German rearmament.

The theme that there was no hurry about this rearmament ran through many speeches. M. Daladier horrified the government by expressing the view that the "peripheral defense" of Europe by the United States air force was not a myth at all but on the contrary the best solution for France. The Americans would in any event not send many troops to Europe and would therefore rely on the Germans to do the dirty work—and, by heaven, the work *would* be dirty! As for Germany, it could very well remain disarmed and kept under four-power control; unfortunately, the Western powers had never taken seriously suggestions to that effect. Daladier, like others, said that if the United States wanted to rearm Germany, at least France's hands should stay clean.

M. Delbos, speaking for the government, was conscious of the danger that the Germans might suddenly detach themselves from the European army—leaving it, as another speaker put it, as empty as a lobster shell—and insisted that integration would "more or less protect us against such danger." Government spokesmen found it equally difficult to cope with another argument: the original Pleven plan had provided for "gradual" integration; now the whole business (except for overseas troops) would be handed to the Germans on a platter.

The discussion went on for days, with the government looking more and more unhappy. "The paradoxical thing is that the German people as a whole are not keen on rearmament," one speaker remarked. "But Adenauer is able to get more and more insolent every day because he sees the United States on its bended knees begging him to rearm."

In the end M. Schuman got his vote, but he was not given *carte blanche*. The Socialists consented to save the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

government from defeat on three conditions: (1) no German units to be recruited until all powers have ratified the European army treaty and a common organization has been set up; (2) no inclusion of Germany in NATO; (3) further attempts to be made to get direct British participation in the army.

February 25

And now Lisbon. Schuman had to present certain face-saving demands, buttressing them with accounts of the high feeling in the Assembly and emphasizing the danger that no agreement would be ratified if the terms were too stiff. He did succeed in obtaining acceptance of the principle that no German soldiers would be recruited until the agreement had been ratified by all six parliaments. This means that the formation of a European German army is postponed for about a year, which is perhaps the most the French could have hoped for.

For the rest, Lisbon was less satisfactory to France. In practical terms Germany becomes a member of NATO. Great Britain refused to yield to the urging that it somehow join the European army. And France obtained no guaranty against the danger of Germany breaking away from the European army. *Le Monde* said bitterly: "Those Frenchmen were right who foresaw that the Atlantic Pact implied that Germany would first rearm according to American wishes and later according to its own."

Ocala: Echo of Injustice

BY STETSON KENNEDY

Miami, Florida

AT THE order of the United States Supreme Court, Florida gave Walter Lee Irvin a brand-new trial, featuring the same prosecutor presenting the same testimony with the same witnesses, a jury as white as ever returning the same verdict, and the same whittling judge handing down the same sentence—death.

There were, however, certain differences from the earlier trial. State authorities, hoping to get a conviction that would stand up, had the trial shifted from Lake County to Ocala in neighboring Marion County, and had a few Negroes summoned as prospective jurors. The white population affected a lack of interest in the proceedings to preclude charges of mob influence, and the local press confined itself to desultory comment.

The story of the "Groveland Four," of whom Irvin was the only one whose fate remained in doubt, began in Groveland, Florida, in 1949 when Willie Padgett met his wife, Norma Lee, coming home after dawn with tavern-keeper Lawrence Burtoft. Both Mr. and Mrs. Padgett said that she had been abducted the night before by four Negro youths, but it was not until some time later that she added the charge of rape.

Mrs. Padgett's charges precipitated a wave of violence. The Ku Klux Klan led a mob which shot up the Negro section, burned three homes, and drove all Negroes from the town. When Irvin, Samuel Shepherd, and Charles Greenlee were arrested, the mob demanded that Sheriff Willis McCall surrender them for lynching. Instead, he deputized the mob and sent it on a man hunt for a fourth "suspect," Ernest Thomas, who when found was killed by a fusillade of bullets. Irvin and Shepherd were subsequently tried and sentenced to die; Greenlee, only sixteen at the time, was given life imprisonment. Upon appeal to the Supreme Court, the convictions of Irvin and Shepherd were set aside (Greenlee disassociated himself from the appeal, fearing to antagonize the court) on the ground that Negroes had been systematically excluded from the jury, which moreover had been influenced by the mob and an inflammatory press.

While being transported to a new trial originally scheduled for Tavares, Shepherd and Irvin, handcuffed together, were each felled by three bullets from the gun of Sheriff McCall. Shepherd died instantly; Irvin clung to life by pretending to be dead. In the hospital Irvin charged that he and Shepherd had been shot down in cold blood. McCall insisted his prisoners had attempted to escape. A coroner's jury, closing its eyes to a score of holes in the case for McCall, exonerated him.

A new trial was then set for Ocala, opening February 11. Defense counsel argued that Circuit Judge Truman Futch, who had pronounced the original death sentence after presiding over the first trial, should disqualify himself for the second. But Judge Futch rejected the plea, asserting that far from being prejudiced he was merely "familiar with the case." Throughout the proceedings the Judge whittled on a succession of cedar sticks.

Retained by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to defend Irvin were Orlando attorneys Alex Akerman, Jr., and Paul Perkins. Thurgood Marshall, the N. A. A. C. P.'s chief counsel, and his assistant, Jack Greenberg, both of New York, were also permitted by the judge to participate, but not until they had been castigated by the prosecutor as "outside agitators" engaged in "vilifying our state."

Ocala's white folks joined in a tacit gentleman's

STETSON KENNEDY, author of "Palmetto Country," has described the current racial violence in Florida in several earlier articles.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

agreement to ignore the courthouse; seldom was the white section of the courtroom more than two-thirds full. Those who showed up maintained a façade of impartiality. But the prejudice was there. A poll prepared by the firm of Elmo Roper was offered in evidence to support the defense plea for a change of venue. Based on interviews with 518 whites in Marion County, the survey indicated that 43 per cent were "positive" of Irvin's guilt, an additional 20 per cent had also prejudged him to be guilty but were not quite so certain, while 25 per cent admitted they did not know. Only 1 per cent thought him "probably"—not positively—innocent. As for the possibility of mob action, 84 per cent of the 151 Negroes queried thought "something might happen" if Irwin were freed, but only 16 per cent of the whites would admit as much. Apparently this was the first time a public-opinion poll had been submitted as court evidence. The judge rejected it as hearsay.

The prosecution sought to answer the poll by parading a dozen witnesses across the stand to affirm that Marion County represented the millennium in harmonious race relations. Among them were five Negroes, well-to-do professional men, who outdid the whites in praise of local conditions. Dr. L. R. Hampton, dentist, spoke of the "love and respect" in which local whites held Negroes, adding that he knew of no Ocala white who was prejudiced against Negroes. Asked under cross-examination if he did not think the refusal to seat Negroes on juries was a manifestation of prejudice, Dr. Hampton replied: "I don't know if we are properly intellectually informed enough to serve on juries." In a more cryptic vein the Reverend L. N. Anderson declared: "Marion County is the only county I would put up against Jerusalem in Christ's time." Only Mr. Anderson knows whether he was likening the trial of Irvin to Pontius Pilate's surrender of the innocent Jesus to the mob for crucifixion.

Of the hundred prospective jurors summoned, seven were Negroes. With Negroes constituting 50 per cent of the county's population, it remains for the Supreme Court to decide whether this represented systematic exclusion. Of the seven called, two excused themselves on the ground that they had opinions about the case; two said they were opposed to capital punishment; three were dismissed by peremptory challenge of the prosecutor.

While the state rested its case on the identification of Irvin by the Padgetts, the defense introduced two new witnesses. The first was Pfc. Burtoft, who flew in from Fort Jackson, South Carolina, to testify that when Mrs. Padgett arrived at his tavern she had said nothing of being raped, and moreover had said she could not identify any of her abductors "because it was so dark."

The second new defense witness was Herman Bennett, private criminologist from Miami, who declared that in his opinion the plaster casts made of footprints at the scene of the alleged attack had been made by Irvin's shoes—but that the shoes had been empty when the tracks were made! This was strongly indicated, he said, by the fact that the soles were sharply arched, as though the shoes had contained shoe-trees rather than feet. Deputy Yates, who had made the casts although he admittedly lacked training for such technical work, admitted further that he had made them *after* having obtained the shoes from Irvin's home. To discount Bennett's testimony the state merely brought out that he had been employed by the N. A. A. C. P.

Already the N. A. A. C. P. has moved for a new trial in the circuit court. Actually a *pro forma* requirement, the move will certainly be denied, and the appeal will then be addressed to the state Supreme Court. In essence the defense charges that Irvin was deprived of a fair and just trial. Among the errors cited are the court's refusal to admit the testimony of the Roper poll and to grant a change of venue.

Irvin's tragic plight is heightened by the fact that the state, mindful of the unfavorable publicity the trial would bring, tried to induce him to plead guilty in exchange for a life sentence—which, with time off for good behavior, could mean parole after seven years. His attorneys left the decision to him. He made the only choice that would leave him at peace with his own conscience. "If I had pleaded guilty," he told reporters later, "I'd just be lying on myself."

Corporate Cupid

BY JUANITA TANNER

A LUCE magazine survey would hardly be expected to have the voltage of a Kinsey report, but *Fortune's* survey on "The Wives of Management" in its issues of October and November, 1951, turned out to be quite engrossing. The magazine's own editors say that it gave them the "heebie-jeebies." What startled them was the eagerness of the wives interviewed to adapt themselves to the requirements of the corporations for which their husbands worked.

That such amenability should astonish and alarm the editors of *Fortune* seems a little odd in view of the magazine's basic premises and the results of its previous surveys of women and business. These have dealt chiefly with the girls as consumers or as employees, but they have been revealing. For instance, there was a depression-era survey in which *Fortune* gravely used its yardstick on the height of hemlines and showed statistically that skirts and the stock market rose together; hems dipped to the ankles in hard times, when manufacturers needed

JUANITA TANNER is the author of "The Intelligent Man's Guide to Marriage and Celibacy."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to dispose of surplus yardage. Then there was the survey which established that executives tend to regard female employees much as the Victorian father regarded his daughters—pleasant creatures to have around to feed the male ego in those later, harsher years when reassurance is required.

Taken together, these earlier surveys should have given a smart trend-spotter all he needed to forecast the results of the recent one on corporation wives. The report on style changes proved women's infinite adaptability. The executive views of the feminine function in business, with their implication that salaries are defined in terms of daughterly allowances, made it certain that the brighter girl would seek another kind of career. Balked in her expectation of equal pay for equal work she will find a way to command a man's salary even if it involves marrying the man and buttering up his boss.

The gentlemen, then, were warned. And if *Fortune* now finds such an embarrassing pliability in the girls that it heads its editorial conclusions "In Praise of the Ornery Wife," what was to be expected of women denied direct rewards yet asked to be the equals—the survey stresses this—of alert, aggressive, and "dedicated" executives? Does anyone seriously suppose that a demand for wives who will keep up with husbands described as willing to knock themselves out in the company's interest can do other than produce women able to outdo their husbands in yessing management?

Does this show the girls really mean it? Don't be silly. A woman who does what she can to increase her husband's earnings is simply, like the corporation, exploiting the worker. Her interests and those of the corporation are, as *Fortune* somewhat wonderingly observes, identical up to a point. The wife may well object to the overexploitation which kills the worker; her interest, unlike the company's, is for life. In the same way a sea captain's wife may question the tradition which invites the captain to risk his life to save a company ship. But that doesn't mean she wants her husband to relax on the bridge—or around the office.

Only business conservatism could so long have overlooked the obvious alliance. Even now the companies are relying on wives' doing their part with little prompting. A salesman's wife may win a deep freeze as a reward for cooperation in record sales, but no company offers Paris frocks or Elizabeth Arden treatments or diamond bracelets for wifely aid. Nor do the corporations as yet recruit wives in the women's colleges in the way that they go after the bright boys. But since a girl's suitability shows earlier—as the surveyors remark, the attitude is fostered in nursery schools—we may yet see management's talent scouts observing the conduct of Cynthia, aged four, and Shirley, six.

Halfway through the survey the magazine began to have misgivings. The second article confesses some regrets over the whole undertaking; perhaps too many wives read *Fortune*. An even more dangerous possibility is surely that men, given the lowdown on how their wives groom them for jobs, will balk. What man smart enough to be a big executive wants surveillance in the company's interest for twenty-four hours a day?

Jack Morley

Will not men with enough gumption to be useful to industry shrink from marrying a female of the foreman type? If divorce were the only result, corporations, the *Fortune* survey showed, would not object, but a revolution against marriage would be different. Masculine coyness might have to be countered by incentive raises and marriage-counsel bureaus, the beginnings of which can already be discerned in the more elaborate corporations. But surely, if the present trend continues, the occasion for marriage counseling in the sense of teaching a man to distinguish one woman from another will disappear. The survey emphasizes the standardization of women to the point of interchangeability, like car parts.

Surprisingly, it is this standardization which *Fortune*, in its final editorial pronouncement, seems to deplore. What do the gentlemen want? You can't cut wives to a pattern and then object to their lack of individual character. It is somewhat as if a successful Lothario should complain that the girls were too easy. Some things, such as freedom of thought and expression, must be given up in efficient corporate organization, state or business.

Women are realists. And so any time the corporation gets disgusted with the wire-pulling of wives, it should know what to do. Give the smart secretary—who admittedly makes the ideal executive's wife—a chance at the top executive job herself, with a man's pay. Test the plan by asking, in strictest confidence, which she would really prefer—marriage to a vice-president or a chance at a pay check and expense account of her own, on even the lower, $10,000 level? Then watch fashions in feminine aspirations change again.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

General Willoughby and the Sorge Spy Ring

SHANGHAI CONSPIRACY. By Major General Charles A. Willoughby. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.75.

WHILE he was Chief of Intelligence for General MacArthur in Japan, General Willoughby got access to the Japanese police records on the activities of the "Sorge spy ring." According to these records, Dr. Richard Sorge was an extremely successful agent for the Soviets in Japan from 1931 to 1941, when the Japanese police at last caught up with him. While in the custody of the Kempetai and the special higher police, Sorge made a long confession. He was then secretly tried and duly hanged. General Willoughby's story is mainly based on his confession and the confessions made by his associates in similar circumstances. It is a rattling good spy story.

Yet General Willoughby, like General MacArthur, who writes the preface, considers it to be much more than that. They feel that it is of immense significance to every good citizen. It should excite burning indignation against men like Sorge and his assistants, for their work was "sinister" and "vicious"; it was sabotage and betrayal. And the story should make good citizens perpetually vigilant lest their friends or neighbors be secretly working for some Soviet spy ring, since Soviet spies are everywhere and are very clever. They do not usually openly proclaim their devotion to communism and the Soviet Union, and if they speak Russian they tend to conceal it even from their intimate friends. General Willoughby finds all this "frightening." "One begins to wonder," he writes, "whom one can trust, what innocent-appearing friend may suddenly be discovered as an enemy."

While there can be no doubt about the genuineness of General Willoughby's indignation and anxiety, it is often hard to trace the roots of his emotions. According to his account Richard Sorge was sent from Shanghai to Japan in 1931, when it seemed that Japan's attack on Manchuria might be the prelude to more ambitious aggression. Mainly through his own intimacy with the Nazi diplomatic and military representatives in Japan and through the intimacy of his chief assistant with Prince Konoye, Sorge was able to assure Moscow that Japan would not attack Russia. It was this assurance that enabled Russia to withdraw its troops from the Far East for the desperate and successful defense of Moscow. If General Willoughby's account of this is authentic, it would seem that Sorge played a critical part in enabling the Soviets first to halt and then to defeat Hitler's invading army. Surely all the Allies should feel gratitude to the man whose skill and courage contributed so much to the Allied cause at such a critical phase of the war. It is not clear from his account of this period whether General Willoughby recalls that in 1941 the Soviet Union was Britain's ally and Nazi Germany Britain's enemy. In 1942, if my memory is right, General MacArthur declared that the hopes of the civilized world rested on the courageous shoulders of the Russian army. Maybe Sorge felt the same way in 1941. It is puzzling to know why General Willoughby is so indignant.

Many things are puzzling in this book. General Willoughby states that Sorge, through his influence over German embassy officers in Tokyo, was "a primary architect of the Tripartite Anti-Communist Pact of September 1940, which inevitably hastened the war." This is bewildering.

It is just as hard to discover the principles by which General Willoughby evaluates evidence as to discover the principles governing his moral judgments. The great body of evidence he produces against Sorge, and against those who he alleges worked in "the ring," comes from the confessions extracted by the Japanese police. In his preface General MacArthur mentions that his command worked against Communists with the "modernized" Japanese police force during the Occupation, but the force had not been "modernized" in 1941. General Willoughby expresses his admiration of the Japanese authorities for giving "the most dangerous spies ever captured" "the benefit of every protection offered by Japanese law" and for sentencing only two of the twenty "guilty" men and women to death when all had earned the death penalty under Japanese law. He concedes that the police may have treated some of the accused a bit roughly.

Is General Willoughby really as innocent as this? Have his researches not given him any fuller information about the methods of refined and sustained mental and physical torture which it was the established custom of the police to use in order to extract confessions from political prisoners? Would General Willoughby accept as authentic the confessions which Soviet courts extract from political prisoners? Does he know of any important difference between the Soviet and Japanese methods of getting confessions? It is impossible, from reading his book, to know what evidence General Willoughby considers necessary to establish guilt. It would seem that he places great confidence in the notion of guilt by association. Against some of the people whom he charges with Soviet espionage this seems to be the main, or only, evidence he produces. But the people who associated most intimately with Sorge and who trusted him most completely were the senior men in the German embassy, including the Gestapo chief. Is it not possible that some of the Americans or British who associated with Sorge were equally ignorant of his mission?

It is true that General Willoughby attempts to supplement and strengthen his evidence by vague references to reports by the Shanghai Municipal Police, and by publishing a statement by four lawyers in Tokyo who seem to take his report on the Sorge activities seriously. It would still be impossible for a reader of this book who has even an elementary training in the appraisal of evidence to reach firm conclusions about the truth of the General's assertions. For some of his statements the evidence seems strong if not conclusive; for others it seems

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

non-existent. And his whole approach is too highly charged with spleen and pettiness to win easy assent from any except those who already share his personal and political attitudes. It is hard to get excited when he considers it worth while, as part of his indictment of some British or American writer, to reveal that this writer, at a time when the Soviet Union was our ally, had some articles published in magazines for which known Communists also sometimes wrote. Yet this is the sort of evidence which General Willoughby seems to feel a rich reward for his researches.

It would still be wrong to take his book too lightly. It has some importance. It is important, not for what it proves or fails to prove about individuals whom it charges with Soviet espionage, but because it reveals so clearly the professional standards and the political values of the officer in whom General MacArthur presumably placed full confidence to help him assess the military and political situation in the Pacific from 1941 to 1951. General Willoughby is right in believing that he has written a frightening book.

W. MACMAHON BALL

The Victorian Ethos

LESLIE STEPHEN: HIS THOUGHT AND CHARACTER IN RELATION TO HIS TIME. By Noel Gilroy Annan. Harvard University Press. $5.

THE rigors of the Victorian fate have worked grimly with Leslie Stephen. In his own age he was a man of signal rank: heir, product, and apostate of Clapham Evangelicalism; member of the "aristocracy of intellect" that ramified the tangled genealogies of Arnolds, Huxleys, Mills, Macaulays, Trevelyans, of Wilberforces, Darwins, Thackerays, Prinseps, Stephens; editor of the *Cornhill* and the "Dictionary of National Biography"; author of "The Science of Ethics," "An Agnostic's Apology," "Hours in a Library," the monumental "History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century," and a long list of literary studies; husband first of Minny Thackeray and then of Julia Jackson Duckworth; friend of Meredith, Morley, Hardy, James, and a virtual pantheon of illustrious contemporaries; a hero of liberal rationalism, an arbiter of sanity in criticism, and a character who epitomized the central conscience and noblest scruples of his era. As such he was commemorated in F. W. Maitland's admirable memoir of 1906. Yet he who rebelled against the generation of his fathers was in turn rebelled against by the generation he fathered. Except to specialists he survives today less as a hero of his time than its victim; less as its conscience than as its spirit grown vexed, morbid, and mortified.

Meredith probably initiated this rueful verdict when he drew his friend, in Vernon Whitford of "The Egoist," as "Phoebus Apollo turned fasting friar." Lytton Strachey elaborated it when, in a sweeping devastation of Arnold, he used Stephen as a peg on which to hang the whole Victorian ineptitude in aesthetics, its "essential and fatal weakness," its "incapability of criticism"—a judgment later seconded by J. W. Mackail and Desmond MacCarthy. And when Virginia Woolf, who knew her father's virtue as intimately as his failings and had testified to it in her Mr. Hilbery of "Night and Day," created her Mr. Ramsay of "To the Lighthouse"—the egotistic, thought-dried skeptic in whom rationalism has become introverted and life-resenting—the verdict of Bloomsbury seemed complete. Stephen, it appeared, had found his appropriate legend, and it was a legend of frustrated spirit and the "undeveloped heart."

This legend Mr. Annan has undertaken to correct in a book that proves to be one of the most attractive studies in the Victorian ethos yet produced by the conflict between sanity and sensitiveness, the accounts left standing in the red by "Eminent Victorians." In the first full examination Stephen's thought and mind have yet had, he assesses the defects but also the worth of the Clapham heritage; the honesty if also the aridity of Stephen's agnosticism; the austerity but also the sustaining vision of his moral ideal of man and society; the conflict between sanity and sensitiveness, between a self-sufficient philistine ethic and an intense emotional hunger, that found release less in Stephen's irritable devotion to his brilliant family than in the strenuously mystical Alpinism which drove him to conquer that Schreckhorn in whose "spare and desolate figure," "quaint glooms, keen lights, and rugged trim," Hardy, in his moving tribute sonnet, saw a "semblance" to his friend's personality.

He examines with particular care Stephen's caliber as a critic of literature: not only the inflexible suspicion of its "feminine" or "singular" elements that deprived him of any intimate experience of Donne, Keats, Coleridge, Tennyson, or lyric poetry in general, but the severe sense of moral and social values that enabled him to write estimates of certain Elizabethans, of Defoe and Eliot, above all of his hero Wordsworth, which, if they lack Arnold's finer perception, still succeed in defining the moral relevance of art, in correcting the excesses of aestheticism, and in suggesting valid social bearings in a way that makes them crucial documents in modern criticism. Mr. Annan admits Stephen's incapacity in treating poetry, but when he meets the Strachey-Mackail-MacCarthy charge of total insensitive-

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS from the U S S R

For an insight into the role of Soviet women as full-fledged members of society — READ

SOVIET WOMAN

deals with questions concerning the participation of Soviet women in industries, social and cultural life of their country.

Illustrated bi-monthly in English Russian, French, German and Chinese
6 Issues — per year — $1.00
Latest Soviet Records, Handicrafts
Ask for Complete Catalogue P-52
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

Buy Your Books through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

SPEAK SPANISH
French • Russian
German • Italian
NEW SHORTCUT METHOD PROVEN FASTER THAN MANY $30–$50 COURSES
Streamlined method developed by U. S. government gives command of language for everyday travel, business, social needs in amazingly short time. Prepared and endorsed by Columbia University, Barnard experts. 50,000 courses now in use. "Gains by comparison with costlier sets."—Dr. R. B. Gray, Rensselaer, N. Y. 1000 basic phrases, plus exchange and travel information, in 128-page book. Unbreakable 7-inch, 2-sided 78 RPM phono. record. Circle language(s) wanted in top headline, clip ad, enclose $1.25 per language and mail immediately to Dover Publications, Dept. 107, 1780 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y. 10-day cash-back guarantee.
NAME
ADDRESS
$ enclosed in full payment.
RECORD AND BOOK
$1.25

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ness by suggesting that "he had not too little, but too much poetry in him and drank it in such draughts that he could not savour the delicacies or tell the vintages," he begs the question in his effort to cope with the self-denying contempt in which Stephen held both criticism ("After all, what does a real genius ever learn from criticism?") and literature itself ("Literature is, in all cases, a demoralising occupation, though some people can resist its evil influences. It is demoralising because success implies publicity. A poet has to turn himself inside out by the very conditions of his art, and suffers from the incessant stimulants applied to his self-consciousness").

The defense of Stephen's criticism made by such apologists as the Leavises, like the place Mr. Annan accords him in "the judicial tradition of Johnson-Arnold-Eliot," rests, finally, less on what he wrote directly about literature than on the force of his moral seriousness, the severe ethical and personal honesty in which he framed his judgments; more on the scholarship and rational method—derived from his other hero, Mill—of his non-literary investigations than on the direct experience of poetry or prose he deliberately hindered by a moral suspiciousness from which he never could or wished to free it.

"A rationalist is always a bad life if one wants to insure against the short memory of posterity," Mr. Annan concludes. It is "muddlers like the imaginative Coleridge, intricate minds like F. D. Maurice . . . prophets, seers, even charlatans," who "have a longer life." But that fate, he believes, "a positivist such as Stephen" would accept. To him a life is "well spent in destroying superstition and selflessly working for the future"; his "future insignificance is a sign that others have built on his work and profited by his blunders." Lowes Dickinson, for one, would not admit this martyrdom to be the appropriate sentence on such sons of Cambridge as Stephen, Henry Sidgwick, and Maitland. For him they constituted "a type unworldly without being sentimental . . . able to be skeptical without being paralyzed; content to know what is knowable and to reserve judgment on what is not. The world could never be driven by such men, for the springs of action lie deep in ignorance and madness. But it is they who are the beacon in the tempest, and they are more, not less, needed now than ever before."

This judgment Mr. Annan has documented with tact and sympathy; and his book, enhanced by some fine unpublished photographs of Stephen, his wives and children, and of Henry James, does sound justice to a character whose worth now reemerges from post-Victorian strictures to declare its value to its own age and to ours.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

Early Virginia

BEHOLD VIRGINIA: THE FIFTH CROWN. By George F. Willison. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $4.75.

AMERICAN history began at Jamestown; the earlier settlements up the Atlantic coast and the Spanish outposts in the Far West were out of the main stream of the developments from which the American nation grew. The poor plantation of the Virginia Company, which struggled for decades at the edge of disaster, laid the foundation upon which an independent nation was built 170 years later.

Yet the early years of the Virginia colony have remained obscure. Despite the meticulous research of a generation of scholars, Virginia is still, in the popular mind, enveloped in a vague haze of legends in which John Smith, Pocahontas, and the gallant cavaliers are hopelessly confused. Perhaps the Virginians lacked the flair for public relations by which New Englanders spread the fame of the Puritans and Pilgrims; certainly this history is not as well known as it should be.

George Willison's book is therefore welcome. In concise, readable form he tells the story of the establishment of Jamestown and the emergence from it of a mature and stable culture. With proper emphasis on the difficulties and hardships of the process, upon the diversified quality of the early settlers, and upon the knavery and greed from which so many miseries proceeded, he traces in lively and entertaining manner the coming into being of what the Crown had hoped would become its fifth dominion.

The book falls into two uneven sections. The first twenty chapters, dealing with the years of establishment from 1607 to 1624, are detailed, tolerably accurate, and well written. There are gaps in Willison's understanding of the subject even through these pages, but he displays here the knack of incorporating contemporary statements into his narrative and imparts to his account an authentic flavor of the times.

In its last eight chapters, however, the book falls apart. This section attempts to cover the century and a half between 1624 and the American Revolution. It is disappointingly cursory and unsatisfying. Perhaps this section fails because there are not readily at hand the convenient compilations of documents which Willison quotes on the earlier period; his information in these last chapters seems haphazardly gathered and incomplete. A more important reason for the failure is the author's incomplete comprehension of the forces that were involved in the trials of early Virginia.

Willison has rejected of course the once-traditional glamorous view of the first families. But he has gone to the opposite extreme and regards the subjects of his story with undisguised contempt. Those who were not gullible fools were dishonest rogues or stupid money-seekers. No scheme ever worked as it was intended to; disaster attended every enterprise; and the company and the colony "made the same mistakes over and over again." Yet out of the confusion and darkness, out of the greed and ignorance, there did emerge a substantial community in which a civil and social order took root and developed. This was furthermore a community that by the middle of the eighteenth century would advance to the conceptions of human rights and dignity that animated its statesmen of the Revolutionary era. How, from such drab origins, did these grand results ensue? In "Behold Virginia" there is regrettably no hint of an answer to this question.

The art of history is not simply that of telling an interesting story. There is a larger purpose to it—to present to men the knowledge of their past through which they may be able to arrive at an understanding of themselves. Through most of this book Willison tells a story that will hold his readers' interest; but he misses the opportunity of doing them this larger service.

OSCAR HANDLIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Anchor to the Past

JEFFERSON SELLECK. By Carl Jonas. Little, Brown and Company. $3.

THIS book is a life-size portrait of a vanishing American—the conservative Midwestern small manufacturer who has seemed in the past—particularly to himself and to many of those just below him in the social hierarchy—to embody all the civic virtues. It is a retrospective "autobiography" dictated at the suggestion of Jefferson Selleck's physician, after he has survived a coronary occlusion, and one of its real assets is its admirably successful conveyance of the illusion that Selleck has told us everything about himself there is to know.

The style is determinedly flat and factual. This emphasis on daily statement has its use as social comedy when Selleck ruefully enumerates, item by item, just what happens to his twenty-thousand-dollar annual income (he winds up in the hole every year); but it can also be tedious and unrewarding, as when he grimly repeats the platitudes by which he claims to have lived.

It seems to me that one's reaction to a painstaking and painful portrait photograph such as this must be directly affected by one's opinion not merely of the figure who sat for the portrait but rather of the wall upon which it hangs, and indeed of the entire house; for Jefferson Selleck is not so much a person as a collection of attitudes toward American life which are for the most part narrow and uninspired, and the author's implied sentiment is one of wry sympathy verging on the patronizing for this hero who got along with his wife, loved his children, hated Roosevelt, and was in favor of the great outdoors and Bob Taft. Indeed, Jeff Selleck himself is at his best when he gives us a genuinely individual insight into his relations with an earlier generation with which he was not wholly in sympathy but which he felt had much to offer in terms of the continuity of the American experience.

What Mr. Jonas is saying can perhaps be summarized in something like the following terms: the generation of middle-class Americans who were born into comfortable circumstances, who voted for Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, who were bewildered by the depression and angered by Roosevelt can be seen in retrospect as men who, if limited intellectually and shallow culturally, were good fathers, good members of the community, and good Americans, essential weavers of the fabric of American life. This basically warm attitude of the younger generation toward boom-and-bust parents, overlaid with a bittersweet irony that has reminded virtually every reviewer, for obvious reasons, of J. P. Marquand, may account for the excellent reception which the book has got from critics and public anxious for an anchor to the past not too obviously incrusted with the barnacles of conservatism.

For me "Jefferson Selleck" is like an extended love-letter from the author to his father. I do not mean this in any personal sense—which would be both unfair and irrelevant—but rather as a somewhat exaggerated indicator of the vast distance separating writers like Mr. Jonas from their immediate predecessors, who looked upon their fathers as symbols of repression and whose books were instinct with rebellion against the entire success myth. Jefferson Selleck's children have gone beyond the success myth; they mock their father's stuffiness, but they love him and in the end they respect him. Only the most unsophisticated members of the upper middle class will resent this skilful and profoundly conservative novel.

HARVEY SWADOS

Art

MANNY FARBER

JAMES BROOKS'S three-dimensional kaleidoscope scenes at the Peridot reveal him to be about eight times more thoughtful and fluent than any other Manhattan abstractionist. Brooks usually achieves something with tangled lines and geologic textures that looks like the cross-section of a rock pile—but a rock pile sledged out of a cathedral. He works simultaneously in all parts of the picture—including the reverse side of the canvas—troweling, blotting, kneading, evaporating the pigment with a sensuality that sinks his imagery into the very threading of the linen. However he does it, he handles his medium with more respect and feeling than I can impute to any of the more prominent daubers in the Rorschach League. What you see from a distance is a rich chunk of harmonized, understressed oranges or greens, curious for its poetically ambiguous intermixing of wetness and dryness, earthiness and restraint. When you get closer, the density of the color fades away into dustiness and gauziness, and the picture, though still compositionally alive, seems as thin as a Brooks Brothers' shoulder. As he works from plane to

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

The NATION — MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine . . . $9.50 You Save $2.50

The NATION

☐ *with* Consumer Reports . . . $10.75 You Save $1.25

These club combinations are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION *by itself*

☐ 1 Year $7 ☐ 2 Years $12 ☐ 3 Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years. ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

_____

_____

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

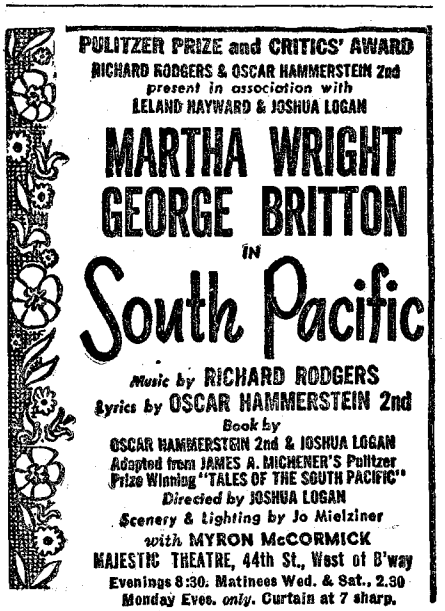
3/1/52

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

plane over his Euclidian field, rather than in, out, and around volumes, Brooks falls into a wheel-like motion that leads to hypnosis through rhythmic repetition, contrast, balance. The Pollocks, Poussette-Darts, and deKoonings, more nervous and more emotion-ridden, have set out to destroy this sort of connectivism by a reliance on roughness, complication, and the anarchy of happenstance; yet perhaps it is Brooks—neat, subtle, and quietly profound—who strikes closest home with his skilful, analyses of the Gatsby personality.

Everybody has said all there is to say about the John Sloan retrospective at the Whitney. The formula is this: the early canvases are somber, humanistic, near-masterpieces out of a conservative but prolific era in American art, and as for the rest, especially the last experimental works, one either admires or deplores them, depending on one's opinion about awkward honesty. My own stand here is affirmative; and I find Sloan an admirable example of the unloved lachrymose plodders of art.

Alfred Leslie, at the Tibor de Nagy gallery, is a pseudo-roughneck who likes to thumb his nose at polite art customs. In trying to shock he offers among other things a twelve-foot picture of opaque, brownish-black scum with a three-foot white stripe in the bottom left corner; an incoherent self-portrait constructed vaguely around the four letters of a dirty word; and a tangled, smeary abstraction half on paper half on convas, fastened together with black plumbers' tape. "Oh, to hell with it all" seems to be his guiding emotion and ultimate goal in painting. A sort of Bronx cowboy abstractionist, Leslie carries his scorn for "training" to the farthest point, a place where color can never be deepened beyond the simplest, quickest mixture, where paint must never, never be put on smoothly, where the "rough, untrammeled" look and simple bedraggled light-dark harmony are the only possible things to be tried for. Despite the clutter and primitivism, some of the pictures have a nice worn luminosity, as though a shadow had been pummeled and kneaded by other darker or lighter shadows. Each painting looks half painted, but upon closer observation it comes together into a harmony of delicate flickering curves and light waves. His most successful works are seven-tenths empty and three-tenths as busy as Times Square.


PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN
MARTHA WRIGHT
GEORGE BRITTON
IN
South Pacific
Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with MYRON McCORMICK
MAJESTIC THEATRE, 44th St., West of B'way
Evenings 8:30. Matinees Wed. & Sat., 2.30
Monday Eves. only. Curtain at 7 sharp.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THREE unfamiliar works of Vivaldi on a Decca LP—the Concertos in A major and G minor for strings and cembalo and Concerto in D minor for oboe d'amore, strings, and cembalo—have the distinctive poignant loveliness and charm of his music; a fourth, the Concerto in G major for strings and cembalo, I find interesting. The performances by the Virtuosi di Roma under Renato Fasano are excellent, even with a bare-sounding bass line which results from the use of a harpsichord, audible mostly only as a timbre, to fill in the harmony. The recorded sound, which requires stepping up of bass, is somewhat coarse.

Mozart's Piano Concerto K.503 is performed on a Decca LP by Carl Seeman with the Munich Philharmonic under Fritz Lehmann. This is the work Tovey chose to illustrate his famous exposition of the Mozart concerto form; yet it is the least played and least known of the great examples of that form; and the reason is that its first movement sets out to affect the listener's ear and mind not with the usual succession of immediately appealing melodies, but with grandeur of style, and a now dramatic, now subtle play with tonality to which the eighteenth-century ear was more sensitized than ours. These may require repeated hearing to exercise their effect; but it must be hearing of effective performances; and in the Decca performance the music doesn't have the required grandeur (as it happens the recorded sound lacks solidity), nor is the play with tonality projected effectively. Bass must be stepped up; surfaces are poor. Seeman doesn't play any more sensitively in Mozart's Variations K.455 on a theme of Gluck, which still retain for me the additional attractiveness they acquired from Balanchine's "Mozartiana"; and there are cuts in the slow variation near the end.

The beautiful Andante movement of Mozart's Sinfonia Concertante K.364 provides the occasion for one of Balanchine's most wonderful creations; and his choreography is probably one reason why I find the other movements more engaging than I used to. The solo violin and viola parts are played on the Decca record by Joseph and Lillian Fuchs—with superb mastery of their instruments, but with an expansive vehemence which doesn't seem to me suitable to the music; the orchestral part is played well by the Zimbler Sinfonietta, a group of Boston Symphony musicians. The solo instruments are well reproduced; the sound of the orchestra is harsh.

On a Period record are Mozart's Divertimento K.247 for strings and horns, mostly quite charming; the engaging March K.248; and the early Symphony K.182, with lots of flourishes and bustle and a few lovely and startling details in the first movement, a charmingly graceful middle movement, and some striking details again in the finale. The performances by the Ton-Studio Orchestra under Hans Michael and Gustav Lund are very fine; the recorded sound is now veiled, now a little sharp. One side of my review record wavers in pitch.

Two brilliant works of Berlioz, the Overtures to "Benvenuto Cellini" and "Le Corsaire," seem to be played well on a London record by the Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra under Münch; but the recorded sound is muffled and indistinct. Ravel's "Bolero" is on the same record.

Dvorak's engagingly melodious Symphony No. 4 is excellently performed by the superb Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra under Szell. The re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

corded sound has the characteristic London spatial depth, but lacks radiance and luster.

The densely polyphonic, wonderfully rich and subtle writing that is heard in Debussy's "Iberia" is also to be heard in "Gigues" and "Rondes de printemps," the other two pieces in the set of "Images" that are almost never played here. All three are played by the San Francisco Symphony under Monteux on an RCA Victor LP; and the performances make me wonder all over again at the to-do in recent years about Monteux as one of the giants to whom recognition has come belatedly. For they reveal again his lack of feeling for cohesiveness of tempo and continuity of momentum, especially in "Iberia," which in addition is heavy, graceless, and almost uninterruptedly loud. The recorded sound has the characteristic Victor warmth and richness, but not all the brightness it should have on top, unless one can step up the treble considerably.

In its Treasury series Victor has issued an excellent LP dubbing of the 1936 recording of Toscanini's beautiful performance of the Brahms-Haydn Variations with the New York Philharmonic. His performance of Beethoven's First Symphony with the B. B. C. Symphony comes off the same record with the first movement bright and clear, the other movements not.

Another Treasury LP dubbing reproduces Casals's playing in Dvorak's Cello Concerto excellently; and the orchestra is brilliant in the first movement, but dim in the last. And still another gives us the different sound of Casals's playing in the much older recording of the Boccherini Concerto, with Bruch's "Kol Nidrei" on the reverse side.

CONTRIBUTORS

W. MACMAHON BALL is professor at the University of Melbourne and author of "Japan: Enemy or Ally?"

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL, professor of English at the University of Chicago, is the author of "Literary Opinion in America" and editor of "The Portable Henry James" and "The Portable Conrad."

OSCAR HANDLIN, a member of the History Department of Harvard University, has recently published "The Uprooted."

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Where the Voter Is Worse Than the Politician

Dear Sirs: The antecedents of Republicanism in Oregon stretch a good deal farther back than one would suppose from reading Richard L. Neuberger's entertaining article on the Webfoot State in *The Nation* of January 26.

Except for Portland and its environs, Oregon was settled by Southerners, mostly from eastern Tennessee and Arkansas. In 1860 its Governor Lane was on the extreme pro-slavery ticket with Breckenridge. During the Civil War sentiment was strong for the "Republic of the Pacific." The war over, Oregon refused to ratify the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments until 1930. In 1924 the state went completely under the control of the Ku Klux Klan, tried to organize economic eviction of Jews, and abolished all parochial schools—an act which was later declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. Six years later Oregon seems to have had a fit of remorse, for it gave Julius Meier, a Jew, and a candidate for the governorship on an independent ticket, more votes than were received by the Republican and Democratic candidates combined. Previous to Meier's election, an anti-Communist law was passed by the state legislature which makes the Smith act appear quite liberal. What is important to understand about the political scene in Oregon is that the voter is much more reactionary than the politician. This fact is borne out by the frequent rejection of reform measures passed by the legislature and submitted to the people in referendums.

ERNEST M. WHITESMITH

Denver, Colo.

Is Duplessis for . . .

Dear Sirs: The Nation of October 20, 1951, contained an article, Quebec's Bitter Brew, by Henry Montcalm. The paragraph dealing with "the crux of the matter" says "Duplessis's role in the axis is to insure that the French Canadians submit to conscription, to heavy taxation, and if necessary to foreign war." Dr. Eugene Forsey, in *The Nation* of December 29, points out that "Mr. Montcalm does not offer a tittle of evidence to support this statement," but in his reply Mr. Montcalm avoids the issue.

If Henry Montcalm has the slightest shred of evidence that Premier Duplessis's role "is to insure that the French Canadians submit to conscription," it is his duty to reveal it, because there is plenty of evidence to the contrary, and it would profoundly affect the result of the coming elections. A great many people are going to vote Union National simply because of the conscriptionist record of M. Lapalme's Liberals, and because they believe it is precisely the existence of M. Duplessis's government which, since 1945, has stood between them and "the bitter brew" of conscription.

GORDON O. ROTHNEY

Montreal, Canada

. . . or Against Conscription?

Dear Sirs: I'm sure Professor Rothney knows his Quebec far too well to expect Premier Duplessis to document his position on conscription or discuss it at press conferences. But the fact that all mention of opposition to conscription, national registration, compulsory training, or war has been dropped from National Union propaganda during the past year, and even talk of provincial autonomy, that Premier Duplessis conspicuously refrains from attacks on the St. Laurent government, while directing his fire at the Provincial Liberals who have made some effort to dissociate themselves from Liberal foreign policy, is evidence that the decision on conscription has been made. All emphasis now is on cooperation with Ottawa, and on the great benefits which Duplessis has conferred on Quebec in the way of industrial development. I agree entirely that if the people of Quebec realize the changed role of the Duplessis government, it will have a profound effect on the election. But none of these matters, I think, will be brought out clearly until Duplessis in Quebec and the Liberals in Ottawa are safely in power for another five years. Then we shall see. I refer Dr. Rothney to the following passages quoted from *Devoir*, the Montreal Catholic daily, doubtless already familiar to him.

Is there a non-aggression pact between M. St. Laurent and M. Duplessis? National Union had always fought the foreign and military policy of the Mackenzie King regime, and exploited the grievances of the French Canadian against this policy in the electoral campaigns of 1944,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1948, 1949. But confronted with the invasion of Korea, N. U. did not react. The Minister of Roads in the Duplessis Cabinet even talked of building strategic routes. It was widely rumored that M. Duplessis had given orders not to oppose the military policy of the Federal Government in the by-elections held last fall in Quebec. That seemed rather unlikely. But now [after the St. Laurent speech praising Duplessis] the wiseacres will not fail to cry that they were well informed when they affirmed that M. St. Laurent would observe a sympathetic neutrality with regard to M. Duplessis.—February 28, 1951.

The new Quebec-Ottawa axis passes through Washington. M. Duplessis will show us that is the best way to Rome. Mr. Howe agrees. Vive American national unity.—March 1, 1951.

TRAVEL

FRENCH STUDY TOURS

University of Washington, Seattle 5, Wash.

ART CULTURE HISTORY
CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS

JUNE 26 • All incl. from Montreal • SEPT 2

INTRODUCTION TO FRANCE $875
Paris & 3500 miles across 14 Provinces

INTRODUCTION TO EUROPE $995
France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium

SUMMER SESSIONS $795
on the Riviera or in Touraine, plus three weeks of travel. Language & Literature

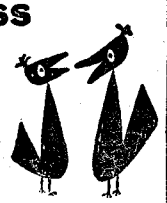
PERSONALS

WOULD YOU like to meet someone who might like to meet you? Write for free copyrighted pamphlet. Address: Personal Introduction Service, 2112 Broadway, N. Y. 23.

HI-YA! A young maiden I be, eager to hear YOUR point of view. Why not write to Box 251, c/o The Nation.

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone, who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified 'social introductions.' Write for booklet, or phone MAY RICHARDSON Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street New York City EN 2-2033



Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED
74¢ a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders

The NATION
TWENTY VESEY STREET
New York 7, New York
BArclay 7-1066

For considerations of federal politics, M. St. Laurent has believed he must reach an understanding with Premier Duplessis. What are these considerations? —of an international order, the wish to avoid Quebec resistance to the participation of Quebec in eventual war? of an economic order, exploitation of Ungava ore and canalization of the St. Lawrence? It is not clear as yet, but the desire for a rapprochement with M. Duplessis is evident and admitted by all the chief interested parties at Quebec.—March 1, 1951.

HENRY MONTCALM
Montreal, Canada

A Partial Victory

Dear Sirs: In your issue of September 22, 1951, you printed an article on the Pechan bill then under consideration by the Pennsylvania General Assembly. Readers of that article may be interested to know that teachers and other public employees in Pennsylvania have weathered the storm of reaction which set in during the 1951 session.

In January, 1951, a bill was introduced in the legislature which authorized a state-wide investigation of subversive activities, and another which required registration of "subversive persons" with the Attorney General. Later in the session a bill was submitted, written by Supreme Court Justice Michael A. Musmanno, outlawing members of the Communist Party and "other" revolutionary organizations. In a wave of hysteria the Musmanno bill was passed by an overwhelming majority. But bills aimed specifically at public employees fared differently.

As a result of a widespread campaign initiated by the Teachers' Union of Philadelphia, only one of these latter bills finally got through the legislature. That bill was the Pechan "loyalty oath" bill which was heavily amended during the closing days of the session. While up for consideration this bill was under constant attack from over a hundred organizations—the Pennsylvania Association of Universities and Colleges, the state A. A. U. P. chapters, the Private School Teachers' Association, the Pennsylvania Federation of Teachers (A. F. of L.), and so on—which sent over eight hundred lobbyists to the capital to fight the bill. The only groups which favored the measure were the old-line veterans' organizations and the D. A. R., and even they faced rebellion from local affiliates.

The American Legion, which had boasted that it would march 6,000 legionnaires to Harrisburg to lobby for the bill, delivered about 200 men, in full uniform, accompanied by a band which played military marches in the rotunda of the Capitol while the House of Representatives was in session. Veterans representing the A. F. of L., C. I. O., and church and teachers' groups opposing the bill outnumbered the legionnaires.

The measure itself is a bad piece of legislation. Under its provisions a person can be found to be "subversive" if he belongs to an undefinably "subversive" organization. But the pressure brought to bear against the bill did modify some of its provisions. For instance, "reasonable doubt" of loyalty was struck out of the bill as a cause for discharge of a public employee (including teachers), although it was retained as a cause to deny employment to new applicants; a provision which would empower the state Attorney General to require sworn answers from public employees to questionnaires to be drawn up at his discretion was dropped from the measure, as was the use of the United States Attorney General's list of subversive organizations as a means of discharging employees. The bill was further amended to allow a hearing for anyone accused of being "subversive," at which court rules of evidence must be adhered to.

The Teachers' Union of Philadelphia has launched a campaign to provide legal aid for victims of the Pechan act, to test the constitutionality of the act, and to rally support in the legislature for the act's repeal during the next session. First step in the repeal campaign is the state-wide circulation of a special issue of the *Teachers' Union News*, which contains the full text and analysis of the Pechan bill. Copies can be had by writing to the union, 13 South Twenty-first Street, Philadelphia 3.

Philadelphia FRANCIS P. JENNING

Exchange Opportunity

Dear Sirs: Several years ago I arranged for several hundred of your subscribers to exchange copies of *The Nation* with subscribers to the *New Statesman and Nation*. I still receive requests for *The Nation*, and if any of your readers want to make the exchange I shall be glad to help. P. DENIS GOODALL
Basingstoke, England

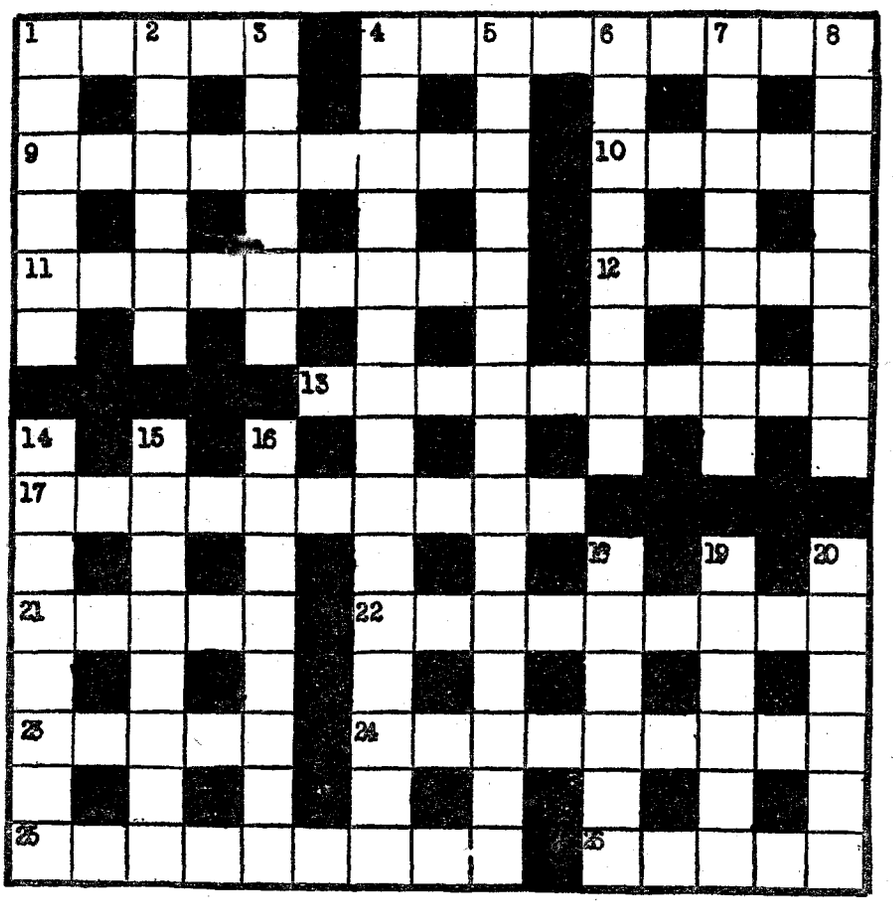
Correction

In Willard Shelton's article, Communists in Unions, in last week's issue the line "Benjamin Signal, counsel for the U. E." should have read "Benjamin Sigal, counsel for the I. U. E."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 454

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 3 down.
4 People seldom plan on their coming. (9)
9 In common surroundings, it returns to nothing. (9)
10 Despite the proper total, 1 across and 21 are common examples. (5)
11 Keeps the heat out with it, unless a different sort is found. (9)
12 Not so fast! (5)
13 The wrong pool is open—does it suggest a famous explorer's bearers? (4, 6)
17 Caucasian, and the sort of Asians that follow a performance without us. (10)
21 See 6 down.
22 Take aim with a double gin, and shake well. (9)
23 One of the spells Abdul the Bulbul might have. (5)
24 A bad actor rode out of this place in Paris. (9)
25 Numb? Don't infer so much! (9)
26 Call up. (5)

DOWN

1 Dine al fresco. (6)
2 Don't hit me again, even if I'm negligent! (6)
3 and 1 across. A series of coastal raids does for the grumpy. (11)
4 See 6 down.
5 The pioneer movement was dependent on them. (9, 6)
6, 4 down and 21 across. Belied by Priam's experiences, though a chest examination would have been more preventative. (4, 4, 1, 4, 5, 2, 3, 5)
7 A nice tour to make, if in need of a steadying influence. (8)
8 Is the Brooklyn Bridge held in it? (8)
14 One who pitches in a boat, or goes quickly. (8)
15 How to make a German miss the French in an unfair way. (8)
16 *Traveller?* (3, 5)
18 The value of 3.1416? (6)
19 . . . . and its application to an emperor in the dramatic field. (6)
20 An Italian loses his head? Pay no attention! (6)

• • ■ • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 453

ACROSS:—1 FATHER OF WATERS; 10 LINEMAN; 11 EXPECT; 12 STATUARY; 14 SISTINE; 15, 9, 5, 21 WHERE THERE'S A WILL THERE'S A WAY; 17 DUDES; 19 SHERIFF; 21 ABLUTION; 23 PEARLY; 25 AMMONIA; 26 CHICAGO; 27 LAUREL AND HARDY.

DOWN:—1 FAT-HEADED; 2 THESPIS; 3 EXERCISES; 4 OMAR; 6 TENET; 7 RAMPAGE; 8 ONLY; 13 FIRST OF ALL; 15 WHITEFISH; 16 EVERYBODY; 18 DILEMMA; 20 FOR FAIR; 22 TENOR; 24 SCAN.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
RIDGEFIELD, CONN.
Phone 6-7000
A resort of distinction offering relaxation and recreation in the modern manner. Winter activities include skiing and skating on mile long lake. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Dancing, TV, recordings, fireplaces. RATES MODERATE.

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

WE print, publish and distribute your nonfiction or fiction manuscript in pamphlet or book form. *Send for free folder.* WILLIAM-FREDERICK PRESS, 313 West 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, $5.00.

HOME STUDY

NOW YOU CAN LEARN touch typewriting at home in 4 hours! Practice at your own convenience. Simple step-by-step instructions. Complete with speed typing lessons and FREE typewriter keyboard chart. All for $1. Satisfaction or money back! Rush order to: LERNER, 15 East 208 St., N. Y. C. 67-N.

PUBLICATION

THOUGHT PROVOKING, paper "MONEY" in 17th year. Important information. 50¢ yearly. T. F. LINDAY, R. D. 1, Girard, Pa.

Butcher . . . Baker . . . Candlestick Maker ?
Where will they spend their vacations this year?
Why not tell them about your resort in the pages of
THE Nation
RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch, one insertion
Generous discounts for multiple insertions. Write or phone today for further information.
ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT
The NATION
20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.
BArclay 7-1066

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"TOO FEW FACTS ON KOREA"

That was the headline on an article by Hanson Baldwin in the *New York Times* on October 2, 1951. The communiqués from the Far East, he wrote, "smacked too much of propaganda and too little of fact . . . . censorship in Korea has been severe and often captious."

Now, at long last, you can learn the truth. From American and U. N. documents, from the leading American and British newspapers, the hidden history of the Korean War—the inner connection between war, propaganda, and politics—has been ferreted out. Only an experienced and fearless newspaperman could have done the job. A scholarly reporter, with extraordinary tenacity and patience, has done the digging that was necessary. *Nation* readers know him. The former Washington editor of the *Nation* and *PM*, now the brilliant crusading columnist of the *Compass*, has written a book as exciting as a detective story and as documented as a lawyer's brief.

THE HIDDEN HISTORY of the KOREAN WAR

by I. F. STONE

Leading publishers in the United States and England found I. F. Stone's HIDDEN HISTORY OF THE KOREAN WAR terrific—but too hot to handle. The editors of *Monthly Review* read it and felt its publication was essential in the fight for peace. We decided to publish the book ourselves.

The retail price will be $5—too steep for the wide distribution the book should have. However, by direct sales in advance of publication, we can sell the book at considerably less than $5. We are, therefore, making these offers:

1. PRE-PUBLICATION PRICE OF $3.00

The book is scheduled to appear in April. Send in $3 in advance of publication and we will send you the book postpaid, as soon as it is off the press.

2. COMBINATION SUBSCRIPTION-BOOK PRICE OF $5.00

A subscription to *Monthly Review* costs $3 per year. Send in $5 and we will give you a year's subscription and send you the book postpaid, as soon as it comes off the press.

Monthly Review is an independent magazine devoted to analyzing, from a socialist point of view, the most significant trends in domestic and foreign affairs. It is edited by Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy.

MONTHLY REVIEW
66 Barrow Street, New York 14, N. Y.

I enclose:

☐ $3, the pre-publication price of Stone's book.

☐ $5, for a one-year sub to Monthly Review and Stone's book.

☐ $_____ for _____ books (5 or more) at $2.50 each.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

N 1

Professor Albert Einstein, in his article "Why Socialism" in Vol. 1, No. 1 of *Monthly Review*, (May, 1949, said: "Clarity about the aims and problems of socialism is of greatest significance in our age of transition. Since, under the present circumstances, free and unhindered discussion of these problems has come under a powerful taboo, I consider the founding of this magazine to be an important public service."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED